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Interviews: 2004 adults  
Dates: February 26 - March 1, 1998

48 Male  
52 Female  
[109]

# FINAL

Study #4088  
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February 1998

ARE	TYPE	SAM	FORM	DAT
[411]	[412]	[413]	[414]	[415]
[416]	[110]	February	[427]	[428]
				1998

1. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	2/98	1/98	12/97	10/97	9/97	7/97	High 2/91+	Low 7/92+	
Right direction.....	53	47	48	44	48	44	65	14	[138]
Wrong track.....	32	34	35	39	36	40	22	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	12	16	13	14	12	12	9	9	
Not sure.....	3	3	4	3	4	4	4	6	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	2/98	1/98	12/97	10/97	9/97	7/97	High 9/97	Low 6/93	
Approve.....	66	62	59	57	62	56	62	41	[139]
Disapprove.....	28	30	33	34	29	36	29	50	
Not sure.....	6	8	8	9	9	8	9	9	

- 2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	2/98*	1/98	12/97	10/97	9/97	7/97	High 1/98	Low 10/97	7/93	9/94	
Approve.....	76	65	64	65	64	62	65	65	40	40	[140]
Disapprove.....	17	25	27	25	28	29	25	25	51	51	
Not sure.....	7	10	9	10	8	9	10	10	9	9	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	2/98**	1/98	12/97	10/97	9/97	7/97	High 1/97	Low 9/94	
Approve.....	61	54	52	49	50	51	57	32	[141]
Disapprove.....	31	34	38	37	34	37	34	60	

Not sure..... 8 | 12 10 14 16 12 9 8

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

3a/b. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and organizations, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>Bill Clinton</b>							[142]
February 1998.....	29	28	14	12	17	-	
January 17-19, 1998.....	21	36	15	13	15	-	
December 1997.....	21	34	16	13	15	1	
October 1997.....	21	30	16	15	17	1	
September 1997.....	24	32	17	13	13	1	
July 1997.....	26	30	13	14	16	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-	
<b>Kenneth Starr</b>							[143]
February 1998*.....	7	13	20	15	26	19	
February 7, 1998*.....	7	12	21	15	24	21	
January 31, 1998*.....	8	10	25	11	22	24	
January 24, 1998**.....	8	12	22	11	14	33	
June 1997.....	4	10	19	8	6	53	
March 1997.....	2	8	18	6	6	60	
<b>Linda Tripp</b>							[144]
February 1998*.....	2	5	22	15	29	27	
<b>Al Gore</b>							[145]
February 1998*.....	18	29	27	12	11	3	
January 1998.....	13	26	29	16	12	4	
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	
October 1997.....	10	27	28	15	17	3	
September 1997.....	13	25	24	18	15	5	
July 1997.....	16	33	23	11	14	3	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	
October 1997.....	10	27	28	15	17	3	
<b>Bill Gates</b>							[146]
February 1998*.....	22	26	25	5	4	18	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\* Results shown reflect responses among a sample of approximately 400 adults.

\*\* Results shown reflect responses among a sample of 806 adults.

Q.3a/b (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>Newt Gingrich</b>							[147]
February 1998**.....	6	20	31	18	19	6	
January 1998.....	6	17	26	21	25	5	
December 1997.....	7	17	24	18	29	5	
October 1997.....	4	18	24	21	27	6	
September 1997.....	5	14	20	21	33	7	
July 1997.....	4	14	22	25	29	6	
<i>High</i>							
April 21-25, 1995.....	11	20	18	13	23	15	
<i>Low</i>							
June 1997.....	6	15	18	25	30	6	
<b>Monica Lewinsky</b>							[148]
February 1998**.....	2	3	33	19	34	9	
February 7, 1998*.....	3	6	28	24	31	8	
January 31, 1998*.....	2	8	26	21	34	9	
January 24, 1998**.....	3	6	33	16	19	23	
<b>Hillary Rodham Clinton</b>							[149]
February 1998**.....	27	25	19	11	17	1	
January 17-19, 1998.....	20	25	21	16	16	2	
December 1997.....	18	26	23	14	17	2	
October 1997.....	20	25	23	13	17	2	
September 1997.....	19	26	18	15	20	2	
July 1997.....	16	23	21	16	23	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
<i>Low</i>							
May 1996+.....	14	20	19	17	27	3	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

\* Results shown reflect responses among a sample of approximately 400 adults.

\*\* Results shown reflect responses among a sample of 806 adults.

3c. Please tell me which one of these statements comes closer to your point of view.

Statement A: The social and economic problems that face America are mainly the result of a decline in moral values.

Statement B: The social and economic problems that face America are mainly the result of financial pressures and strains on the family.

	<u>2/98</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	
Statement A/decline in moral values.....	44	54	44	43	[150]
Statement B/financial pressures and strains on the family.....	43	34	46	45	
Some of both (VOL).....	9	9	7	9	
Neither (VOL).....	3	2	2	1	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	2	

- 3d. Which of the following do you think is the greatest threat to our country's future over the next ten to twenty years?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Moral decline.....	25	[151]
Crime and drug use.....	22	
Poor public schools.....	18	
International economic competition.....	8	
Racial tensions.....	7	
A serious economic recession.....	6	
The national debt.....	5	
All of these (VOL).....	7	
None of these (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	1	[152]

- 4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>2/98*</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>10/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>High</u> <u>7/97</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>10/90+</u>	
Approve.....	57	47	46	46	45	48	48	22	[153]
Disapprove.....	29	32	40	41	40	37	37	69	
Not sure.....	14	21	14	13	15	15	15	9	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked of registered voters.

- 4b. What is your preference for the outcome of the November 1998 congressional elections -- a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	<u>2/98**</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>11/96+</u>	<u>10/96+</u>	
Republican-controlled Congress.....	41	40	41	41	45	44	44	42	[154]
Democrat-controlled Congress.....	37	42	37	39	39	38	40	40	
Both equal/neither in control (VOL)/ doesn't matter (VOL)/ not sure.....	22	18	22	20	16	18	16	18	
				<u>9/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/94<sup>1</sup></u>	
				42	40	41	42	44	
				41	40	38	41	38	
				17	20	21	17	18	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

<sup>1</sup> In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

<sup>2</sup> Previously, the volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

- 5a. As you may know, some experts think that the federal government will have a surplus of funds in the next few years. If that happens, for which one of the following would you like to see the surplus funds used -- fix the long-term Social Security funding program, provide tax cuts for families, or increase spending on public education?\*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Fix the long-term Social Security funding program.....	39	<b>[156]</b>
Increase spending on public education.....	33	
Provide tax cuts for families.....	19	
All of these (VOL).....	6	
None of these (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	-	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 5b. As you may know, interest rates have been low enough in recent months that many Americans have been able to refinance their home mortgages to get a lower rate. Over the next year, do you think that the Federal Reserve will lower interest rates further, keep interest rates the same, or will increase interest rates?\*

Lower interest rates.....	8	<b>[157]</b>
Keep interest rates the same.....	49	
Increase interest rates.....	36	
Not sure.....	7	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 6a. As you may know, there are allegations that President Clinton had an affair with a former White House intern. Do you think that these allegations about President Clinton are true, or not?

	2/26-	-----  January 1998							
	3/1/98*	2/7/98*	31 <sup>st</sup> *	27 <sup>th</sup> *	26 <sup>th</sup> *	25*	24 <sup>th</sup> **	22 <sup>nd</sup> *	
Yes, allegations are true.....	50	39	40	37	39	47	45	38	<b>[158]</b>
No, allegations are not true.....	25	30	30	30	27	24	25	28	
Not sure.....	25	31	30	33	34	29	30	34	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\* Results shown reflect responses among a sample of approximately 400 adults.

\*\* Results shown reflect responses among a sample of 806 adults.

- 6b. President Clinton has publicly denied having any sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky. If there is proof that he lied about having a sexual relationship with her, should he resign as president?\*

Yes, he should resign.....	37	<b>[159]</b>
No, he should not resign.....	58	
Not sure.....	5	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 6c. President Clinton has publicly denied having any sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky. If there is proof that he did have a sexual relationship with her, should he resign as president?\*

Yes, he should resign.....	33	<b>[160]</b>
No, he should not resign.....	61	
Not sure.....	6	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 7a. Do you feel that President Clinton has said enough publicly about the recent allegations, or do you feel that he needs to provide more information?

	<u>2/26- 3/1/98</u>	<u>2/7/98*</u>	
Has said enough.....	56	58	<b>[161]</b>
Needs to provide more information.....	38	38	
Not sure.....	6	4	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\* Results shown reflect responses among a sample of 407 adults.

- 7b. If President Clinton decided to provide more information to the American public about the recent allegations, do you think that he should provide full and detailed information or should he be able to withhold some private matters that deal with his personal life?\*

He should provide full and detailed information.....	29	<b>[162]</b>
He should be able to withhold certain private matters.	67	
Not sure.....	4	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 7c. Public opinion polls show that many Americans believe that Bill Clinton had a sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky, but polls also show that this has not affected President Clinton's approval ratings. Which one of the following statements do you think better sums up this situation?

Statement A: The Monica Lewinsky situation has not affected President Clinton's approval ratings, because Americans have become more cynical and have low expectations about the moral standards that they can expect from their political leaders.

Statement B: The Monica Lewinsky situation has not affected President Clinton's approval ratings, because Americans have become more realistic and accept that political leaders should be judged on their performance in office rather than on their personal life.\*

Statement A/more cynical.....	30	<b>[163]</b>
Statement B/more realistic.....	65	
Not sure.....	5	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 7d. Do you think that Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel who is investigating these allegations, is mainly interested in conducting a fair and impartial investigation, or is he using the investigation for partisan, political purposes?

	<u>2/26- 3/1/98*</u>	<u>2/7/98*</u>	<u>1/31/98*</u>	
Is conducting a fair/impartial investigation.....	27	22	26	<b>[164]</b>
Is using investigation for partisan, political purposes.....	61	64	57	
Not sure.....	12	14	17	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\* Results shown reflect responses among a sample of approximately 400 adults.

- 8a. Do you think that the Secret Service agents assigned to protect the President should or should not be forced to testify under oath about President Clinton's personal life?\*

Should be forced to testify under oath.....	28	<b>[165]</b>
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Should not be forced to testify under oath.....	68
Not sure.....	4

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 8b. Do you think that Marcia Lewis, the mother of Monica Lewinsky, should have been or should not have been required to testify under oath about the allegations involving her daughter?\*\*

Should have been required to testify.....	30	<b>[166]</b>
Should not have been required to testify.....	63	
Not sure.....	7	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 8c. Do you think that the recent allegations against President Clinton will or will not seriously affect his ability to lead the country in the remaining three years of his term?\*\*

Will seriously affect his ability to lead the country.....	28	<b>[167]</b>
Will not seriously affect his ability to lead the country.....	66	
Not sure.....	6	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 8d. Let me read you three groups of people who are involved with the recent allegations involving President Clinton and the former White House intern. When it comes to how each group has dealt with this matter, please tell me if you feel that they've gone overboard, have handled it about right, or have not been aggressive enough?\*\*

	Have Gone <u>Overboard</u>	Handled It About <u>Right</u>	Have Not Been Aggressive <u>Enough</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
The news media.....	74	19	5	2	<b>[168]</b>
Ken Starr's investigation.....	56	28	7	9	<b>[169]</b>
President Clinton's defense team.....	21	49	20	10	<b>[170]</b>

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

9. The lawyers for President Clinton have asked a federal judge to dismiss all charges against the President in the Paula Jones lawsuit. Do you think that the Paula Jones lawsuit should or should not be dismissed?\*

Paula Jones lawsuit should be dismissed.....	39	<b>[171]</b>
Paula Jones lawsuit should not be dismissed.....	49	
Not sure.....	12	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

**Now, moving to another topic...**

10a. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the current situation with Iraq?

	<u>2/98**</u>	<u>11/97+</u>	
Approve.....	67	62	<b>[172]</b>
Disapprove.....	25	24	
Not sure.....	8	14	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked of registered voters.

10b. Keeping U.S. interests in mind, do you think that the recent agreement between Iraq and the United Nations regarding chemical and biological weapons inspections in Iraq is satisfactory or not satisfactory?

Satisfactory.....	37	<b>[173]</b>
Not satisfactory.....	46	
Depends (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	11	

10c. If Saddam Hussein violates the recent United Nations agreement, do you think that the United States should or should not bomb Iraq without further diplomatic negotiations?\*

Should bomb Iraq without further diplomatic negotiations.....	56	<b>[174]</b>
Should not bomb Iraq without further diplomatic negotiations....	35	
Not sure.....	9	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

10d. If Saddam Hussein complies with the recent United Nations agreement, do you think that the United States should or should not permit the United Nations to lift the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq?\*

Should permit UN to lift sanctions.....	47	<b>[175]</b>
Should not permit UN to lift sanctions.....	42	
Not sure.....	11	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

**Changing subjects, now ...**

11a. Compared to twenty years ago, would you say that the standards and values of each of the following groups are higher, lower, or about the same as they were twenty years ago? (IF "LOWER," ASK: ) Is that a little lower or a lot lower?\*

	<u>Higher</u>	<u>A Little Lower</u>	<u>A Lot Lower</u>	<u>About The Same</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Moviemakers and television producers.....	18	14	50	15	3	<b>[176]</b>
Teachers and educators.....	23	24	23	26	4	<b>[177]</b>
Churches and religious leaders.....	16	20	16	44	4	<b>[178]</b>
Government leaders and politicians.....	12	19	35	31	3	<b>[179]</b>
Business leaders and executives.....	19	20	22	34	5	<b>[180]</b>

\* Asked of one-half the respondents. (FORM A).

11b. Please tell me whether you think that having committed adultery should or should not disqualify an individual from working in each of the following positions or professions?\*

Should



	Should Disqualify	Not Disqualif y	Depends (VOL)	Not Sure	
A four- or five-star general.....	28	64	5	3	[208]
President of the United States.....	29	64	4	3	[209]
Clergy or religious leader.....	67	24	6	3	[210]
Schoolteacher.....	32	59	7	2	[211]
Member of Congress.....	27	66	4	3	[212]
Chief Executive Officer of a major corporation.....	19	72	5	4	[213]

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

11c. I would like to ask you to rate the character of each of the following political figures. For each one, please tell me whether you think their character -- that is, their values and ethics -- is or was very high, high, average, low, or very low.\*\*

	Very High	High	Average	Low	Very Low	Not Sure	
John F. Kennedy.....	17	28	33	15	4	3	[214]
Ronald Reagan.....	19	38	32	7	3	1	[215]
Bill Clinton.....	8	22	34	17	18	1	[216]
Jimmy Carter.....	30	36	25	5	2	2	[217]
Richard Nixon.....	3	12	37	31	14	3	[218]
Newt Gingrich.....	2	12	48	20	11	7	[219]
Franklin Delano Roosevelt.....	22	36	24	4	1	13	[220]

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

11d. I'm going to read you a list of types of behaviors. Please tell me which type of behavior is the best indicator of whether an individual has the character to be president? \*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Being ethical.....	21	[221]
Telling the truth.....	20	
Being tough and decisive.....	17	
Caring about people.....	15	
Being hard-working.....	8	
Being faithful to a spouse.....	2	
All (VOL).....	16	
Not sure.....	1	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 11e. There has been talk recently about the public and private character of public officials -- public character being whether they work hard and keep their promises, and private character being how they behave in their private life. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion on this issue?

Statement A: Public character is the only thing that matters to me, because an individual's private life should be private.

Statement B: Public character is more important. Private character only matters to me if it interferes with an individual's ability to do his or her job.

Statement C: Private character is more important to me, because an individual's private character tells you more about them than does their public character.

Statement D: Both public and private character are equally important to me.\*\*

Statement A/public character is all that matters.....	12	<b>[222]</b>
Statement B/public character is more important.....	45	
Statement C/private character is more important....	7	
Statement D/both are equally important.....	35	
Not sure.....	1	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 12a. Do you expect your children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living than your generation?

	<u>2/98*</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>3/96</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>5/90+</u>	
Yes, expect children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living.....	64	53	52	43	43	41	41	48	49	45	60	<b>[223]</b>
No, do not expect children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living.....	32	42	44	47	47	51	52	46	45	50	37	
Not sure.....	4	5	4	10	10	8	7	6	6	5	3	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters

- 12b. Thinking about the changes that have taken place in society over the past fifteen to twenty years, which of the following changes bothers you the most?\*\*

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

The lack of respect for authority and elders.....	29	<b>[224]</b>
The number of unwed teenage mothers.....	15	
The content of today's television and music programming...	13	
The ethical standards for public officials.....	12	
The tolerance for gay lifestyles.....	7	
The rate of divorce.....	7	
All of these (VOL).....	14	
None of these (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

13. There's been some discussion about the issue of protecting individuals' rights versus protecting the interests of the majority. In general, over the past few years, do you think that the country has gone too far in protecting individuals' rights, has achieved about the right balance, or has gone too far in protecting the interests of the majority?

Has gone too far in protecting individuals' rights.....	35	[225]
Has achieved about the right balance.....	25	
Has gone too far in protecting the interests of the majority.....	29	
Not sure.....	11	

- 14a. I would like to read you a list of issues currently facing the country. Using a one-to-ten scale, on which a one means you strongly disagree and a ten means you strongly agree, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. You can use any number between one and ten -- the higher the number, the more strongly you agree with the statement.\*

		Strongly Agree		Strongly Disagree	Cannot	
	Mean	8-10	4-7	1-3	Rate	
No type or level of illegal drug use should be tolerated in the United States.....	8.1	70	19	10	1	[226-227]
We should guarantee health care for all senior citizens.....	8.8	82	15	3	-	[228-229]
The federal government should always operate on a balanced budget.....	8.2	70	23	6	1	[230-231]
Every able-bodied person should have to do some type of work in order to receive welfare or unemployment benefits.....	9.0	85	11	4	-	[232-233]
We should have strong laws prohibiting any discrimination on the basis of race.....	8.9	83	12	5	-	[234-235]
We should have strong laws prohibiting any discrimination against gay and lesbians.....	6.4	45	30	23	2	[236-237]
We should have strong laws prohibiting any discrimination on the basis of gender.....	8.6	80	14	6	-	[238-239]
Nondenominational prayers should be allowed in public schools.....	7.2	60	21	18	1	[240-241]
There should be some control over what we allow on television and in the movies.....	7.3	57	27	15	1	[242-243]
The United States should always maintain the strongest military force in the world.....	8.6	76	19	4	1	[244-245]
We should toughen and strengthen penalties for convicted criminals.....	8.6	78	17	4	1	[246-247]

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A),

- 14b. I would like to read you a list of issues currently facing the country. Using a one-to-ten scale, on which a one means you think we are doing a very poor job as a nation in living up to that standard, and a ten means you think we are doing an excellent job as a nation in living up to that standard, please tell me how well you think we as a nation are living up to each standard. You can use any number between one and ten -- the higher the number, the better you think we are doing as a nation in living up to that standard.

		Excellen t Job		Very Poor Job	Cannot	
	Mean	8-10	4-7	1-3	Rate	
Not tolerating any type or level of illegal drug use in the United States.....	4.8	21	38	40	1	[248-249]
Guaranteeing health care for all senior citizen. .	5.6	27	49	23	1	[250-251]
The federal government operating on a balanced budget.....	5.4	25	46	28	1	[252-253]
Requiring that every able-bodied person do some type of work in order to receive welfare or unemployment benefits.....	5.2	25	42	32	1	[254-255]
Having strong laws prohibiting any discrimination on the basis of race.....	6.2	34	50	15	1	[256-257]
Having strong laws prohibiting any discrimination against gay and lesbians.....	5.3	18	56	21	5	[258-259]
Having strong laws prohibiting any discrimination on the basis of gender.....	6.1	31	54	13	2	[260-261]
Allowing nondenominational prayers in public schools.....	4.6	19	38	38	5	[262-263]
Controlling what we allow on television and in the movies.....	4.6	16	42	40	2	[264-265]
Maintaining the strongest military force in the world.....	7.2	54	37	8	1	[266-267]
Toughening and strengthening penalties for convicted criminals.....	5.1	22	48	29	1	[268-269]

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

15. Which of the following policy proposals comes closest to your opinion about what the government should do to help families with young children?\*

Statement A: Offer substantial tax credits to families with children so that one parent could stay home and raise the children instead of working.

Statement B: Provide subsidized child care and universal preschool for all Americans so that both parents can work and improve the standard of living for their children.

Statement A/offer substantial tax credits to families with children..... [270]  
Statement B/provide subsidized child-care 44

and universal pre-school for all Americans.....	43
Both (VOL).....	6
Neither(VOL).....	5
Not sure.....	2

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

16. Which of the following best describes your position on the abortion issue?\*

A) Abortion should be legal -- the decision of whether or not to have an abortion should be left up to the woman and her physician

B) Abortion should be legal, but there should be some government regulations about why and when an abortion can be performed

C) Abortion should be made illegal, except when the life of the woman is at risk

D) All abortions should be made illegal

A) Abortion should be legal - should be left up to the woman and her physician....	44	[271]
B) Abortion should be legal but should be some government regulations.....	23	
C) Abortion should be made illegal except when the life of the woman is at risk....	25	
D) All abortions should be made illegal.....	7	
Not sure.....	1	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

17. For each of the following, please tell me whether this does or does not apply to you.

	<u>Applies</u>	<u>Does Not</u> <u>Apply</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
Attend religious services once a week or more.....	50	50	-	[272]
Regularly volunteer at least once a month or more....	52	48	-	[273]
Either you or your parents emigrated to America.....	15	85	-	[274]
Have been to either Disneyland or Disney World *....	66	34	-	[275]
Feel that you will become a millionaire in your lifetime *.....	24	75	1	[276]
Say grace before dinner *.....	56	43	1	[277]
A member of your family has had an adulterous affair **.....	25	69	6	[278]
Belong to a civic or neighborhood group **.....	49	51	-	[279]

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about the American character, that is, about our values and who we are...

- C1. How important is each of the following values to you personally, would you say it is very important, somewhat important, not that important, or not important at all?\*

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not That Important	Not Important At All	Not Sure	
Self-fulfillment.....	66	28	4	1	1	[280]
Hard work.....	83	15	1	1	-	[308]
Religion.....	62	27	7	3	1	[309]
Patriotism.....	70	23	5	1	1	[310]
Having children.....	59	25	9	5	2	[311]
Money.....	31	57	11	1	-	[312]
Community involvement.....	47	47	5	1	-	[313]

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

*****	
<b>1976-1977<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>% saying Very Important</b>
Self-fulfillment.....	67
Hard work.....	62
Religion.....	52
Patriotism.....	43
Having children.....	43
Money.....	31
<sup>1</sup> Comparative data shown is from a 1976-1977 survey conducted by Yankelovich, Skelly, and White, Inc. The question was asked only of parents.	

- C2. Overall, how would you rate the American character today on a scale from one to ten, on which a "10" indicates a strong national character and a "1" indicates a weak national character.

10, strong.....	6	<b>[314-315]</b>
9.....	3	
8.....	14	
7.....	19	
6.....	14	
5.....	22	
4.....	9	
3.....	7	
2.....	1	
1, weak.....	4	
Cannot rate.....	1	

- C3. Thinking back to when your parents were young adults, based on what you may have seen, heard, or read, rate the American character as it was when your parents were young adults, using the same one-to-ten scale, on which a "10" indicates a strong national character and a "1" indicates a weak national character.\*

10, strong.....	26	<b>[316-317]</b>
9.....	16	
8.....	27	
7.....	12	
6.....	5	
5.....	5	
4.....	3	
3.....	1	
2.....	1	
1, weak.....	1	
Cannot rate.....	3	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- C4. Compared to when your parents were your age, do you think that you have more freedom of choice in how to live your life, about the same freedom of choice, or less freedom of choice in how to live your life?

	<u>2/98**</u>	<u>1981<sup>1</sup></u>	<b>[318]</b>
More freedom of choice.....	66	73	
About the same freedom of choice....	16	17	
Less freedom of choice.....	17	8	
Not sure.....	1	2	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>1</sup>Comparative data shown is from a 1976-1977 survey conducted by Yankelovich, Skelly, and White, Inc.



- C5. I would like to read you some words or phrases, and for each one I read, please tell me how well you feel that describes the way America is today.

**(READ ITEM)** -- does that describe America today extremely well, fairly well, about 50-50, or not well?

	Extremely <u>Well</u>	Fairly <u>Well</u>	About <u>50-50</u>	Not <u>Well</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Compassionate and caring *.....	9	31	42	17	1	[319]
Hard-working, diligent *.....	12	33	42	12	1	[320]
Tolerant of others with different beliefs or lifestyles *.....	8	27	44	20	1	[321]
Believe in competition and the free market *.....	32	36	26	4	2	[322]
Independent and self-reliant *.....	15	35	37	12	1	[323]
Fair-minded, treating everyone fairly and equally **.....	6	26	41	27	-	[324]
Ambitious, always looking for ways to get ahead in life **.....	25	35	32	8	-	[325]
Religious, moral **.....	5	20	44	30	1	[326]
Committed to democracy and majority rule **.....	18	35	33	13	1	[327]

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- C6. Now I will read you a list of six items that some people say best represent ways in which the American character has changed since the 1950s. Based on your experience, or what you may have seen, heard, or read, please tell me which ONE or TWO best describe the way that the American character has changed since the 1950s. \*\*

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

Less stable marriages and families.....	36	[328]
More skeptical of political leaders and less likely to vote.....	27	>
Less patriotic and less willing to sacrifice for country.....	19	
Less willing to do without something now in order to get a greater reward later.....	18	
Less religious.....	18	
More resistant to accepting immigrants into the U.S.....	10	
All of these (VOL).....	16	
Not sure.....	2	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

C7. When it comes to immigration, which statement most closely represents your feelings?

Statement A: Immigration strengthens the American character, as new arrivals increase our diversity and bring ambition and new approaches to the country.

Statement B: Immigration weakens the American character, as new arrivals do not adopt our language and culture, and put a strain on public services.\*

Statement A/Immigration strengthens the American character.....	36	[329]
Statement B/Immigration weakens the American character.....	50	
Both (VOL) .....	8	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

C8a. Do you approve or disapprove of marriage between whites and non-whites?

		*****						
				<i>Whites</i>				
		<i>All Adults</i>	<i>Whites</i>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1958</u>
		<u>2/98**</u>	<u>2/98**</u>					
Approve.....	66	62		38	32	25	17	4
Disapprove.....	24	27		56	58	65	76	94
Not sure.....	10	11		6	10	10	7	3
				<i>Blacks</i>				
			<u>2/98**</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1972</u>		
			78	71	66	58		
			15	20	21	21		
			7	9	13	21		

Comparative data shown comes from surveys conducted by Gallup. In 1983, the question was phrased "marriage between blacks and whites"; in 1958 "the question was phrased "marriages between white and colored people".

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

C8b. Do you believe that religion can answer all or most of today's problems, or that religion is largely old-fashioned and out of date?

		*****									
		<u>2/98*</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	[331]
Religion can answer all or most of today's problems.....	58		67	62	61	59	64	59	65	61	
Religion is largely old-fashioned.....	23		21	20	21	23	21	23	19	18	
Not sure.....	19		13	19	19	18	16	19	16	22	
			<u>1988</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1957</u>	
			57	58	61	56	60	65	62	82	
			20	23	22	21	22	15	20	7	
			23	20	17	23	18	20	18	11	

Comparative data shown comes from surveys conducted by Gallup. In the 1994-1998 surveys, the response "other" was also accepted; for purposes of comparative, it is shown combined with "not sure".

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

C8c. Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?

	<u>2/98**</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1985</u>	
Divorce should be easier to obtain.....	20	27	26	26	28	23	25	24	27	23	[332]
Divorce should be more difficult to obtain...	62	49	47	47	48	49	51	48	52	53	
Not sure.....	18	24	28	27	24	28	24	27	22	23	

<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1968</u>
24	22	29	29	27	28	32	18
52	51	44	48	50	46	42	60
24	27	27	23	23	25	26	21

Comparative data shown comes from surveys conducted by NORC. For purposes of comparative, the volunteered response "same" is shown combined with "not sure"

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- C9. There has been a lot of discussion about the way morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. If a man and a woman have sexual relations before marriage, do you think that is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

	<u>2/98*</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1986</u>	
Always wrong.....	25	24	26	27	28	25	28	26	28	[333]
Almost always wrong.....	11	10	10	10	11	9	10	10	9	
Wrong only sometimes.....	26	23	21	22	20	25	23	22	23	
Not wrong at all.....	34	44	44	41	42	40	40	41	40	
Not sure.....	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

<u>1985</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1972</u>
28	28	28	29	31	31	33	36
9	11	9	12	10	12	13	11
20	25	22	20	23	25	24	25
43	37	41	38	36	32	30	28
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Comparative data shown comes from surveys conducted by NORC. Results shown do not reflect responses among those who said they were not sure.

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

C10. What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than their marriage partner--is it always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

		*****								[334]
	2/98**	1996	1994	1993	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	
Always wrong.....	74	79	80	79	77	79	79	81	74	
Almost always wrong.....	14	15	12	14	14	13	12	12	16	
Wrong only sometimes.....	8	5	6	5	6	7	8	5	7	
Not wrong at all.....	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	
Not sure.....	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
		1985	1984	1982	1980	1977	1976	1974	1973	
		75	72	74	71	74	69	73	70	
		13	18	14	16	14	17	13	15	
		8	9	10	10	10	11	12	12	
		3	2	2	3	3	4	3	4	
		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Comparative data shown comes from surveys conducted by NORC. Results shown do not reflect responses among those who said they didn't know.										

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

C11. What is your opinion about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex--do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

		*****								
	2/98*	<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1987</u>	
Always wrong.....	55	61	68	66	77	76	74	77	78	[335]
Almost always wrong.....	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	
Wrong only sometimes.....	12	6	6	8	4	6	6	6	6	
Not wrong at all.....	21	28	23	22	15	13	15	13	12	
Not sure.....	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
		<u>1985</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1973</u>	
		76	75	74	74	73	70	69	73	
		4	5	5	6	6	6	6	7	
		7	7	7	6	8	8	9	8	
		13	13	14	14	14	16	13	11	
		-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	
Comparative data shown comes from surveys conducted by NORC. With the exception of data for 1996 and 1994, results shown do not reflect responses among those who said they didn't know.										

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- C12. How important do you think sexual fidelity on the part of the spouse is to a good marriage -- do you think it is very important, fairly important, not too important, or not at all important? [336]

		*****							
		1989		1985		1979		1974	
	2/98**	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Very important.....	85	78	85	77	83	73	79	71	80
Fairly important.....	12	17	10	19	13	21	16	21	14
Not too important.....	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	5	3
Not at all important.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1
Not sure/don't know.....	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	3

Comparative data shown comes from surveys conducted by Roper for Virginia Slims.

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- C13. Now let me read you a list of five items that some people say best represent what the American character will be like in the twenty-first century, after the year 2000. Tell me which ONE or TWO best represent ways that you think the American character will change the most in the next century. \*\*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

More tolerant of alternative lifestyles and cultures.....	42	[337]
More focused on international, not just national, issues.....	28	>
More importance placed on marriage and children.....	27	
More emphasis on giving back to the community.....	15	
More religious.....	13	
All of these (VOL).....	6	
None of these (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- C14. I'll read you some statements that people might make about the rich, and for each one, please tell me whether that describes your own personal feelings totally, mostly, a little, or not at all.\*

	Describes Feelings Totally	Describes Feelings Mostly	Describes Feelings A Little	Does Not Describe Feelings At All	Not Sure	
The rich do not pay their fair share of taxes.....	34	22	15	23	6	[338]
I admire the rich.....	10	18	30	40	2	[339]
It's very important to me to get rich enough so I don't have to work if I don't want to.....	19	17	21	40	3	[340]
I resent the rich.....	2	4	13	80	1	[341]
The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.....	36	23	19	20	2	[342]

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

**FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

F1. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	10	<b>[343]</b>
25-29.....	7	
30-34.....	10	
35-39.....	11	
40-44.....	12	
45-49.....	10	
50-54.....	9	
55-59.....	7	
60-64.....	6	
65 and over.....	17	<b>[344]</b>
Refused.....	1	

F2. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	<b>[345]</b>
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	30	
Some college, no degree.....	17	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	11	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	19	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	9	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	<b>[346]</b>

F3a. Are you currently employed?

**(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** What type of work do you do?

**(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/manager.....	25	<b>[347]</b>
White collar worker.....	17	
Blue collar worker.....	20	
Farmer.....	-	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student.....	4	<b>[348]</b>
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	21	
Unemployed.....	3	
Never worked/not sure.....	3	

F3b. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	17	[355]
Not very strong Democrat.....	12	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	11	
Strictly independent.....	21	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not very strong Republican.....	10	
Strong Republican.....	13	
Other.....	4	
Not sure/nothing.....	3	

F4. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	7	[356]
Somewhat liberal.....	17	
Moderate.....	30	
Somewhat conservative.....	22	
Very conservative.....	11	
Views cannot be described in those terms....	10	
Not sure.....	3	

F5. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered .....	85	[357]
Not registered.....	13	
Not sure.....	2	

F6. Did you happen to vote in the 1996 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote -- Bill Clinton, the Democrat, Bob Dole, the Republican, or Ross Perot, the Reform Party candidate?

<u>Yes, Voted</u> .....		[358]
Bill Clinton.....	41	
Bob Dole .....	25	
Ross Perot.....	7	
Other (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	4	
<u>No, Did Not Vote</u> .....	20	
<u>Not Sure If Voted/Refused</u> .....	3	

F7. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	19	[359]
Married.....	60	
Separated.....	2	
Widowed.....	7	
Divorced.....	10	
Other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F8. Do you have any children under age 18 currently living in your household?

Yes, kids under 18 in household.....	36	[360]
No, no kids under 18 in household.....	63	
Not sure.....	1	

F9. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	54	<b>CONTINUE</b>	[361]
Catholic.....	30		
Jewish.....	2		
Other.....	9	<b>SKIP TO Q.F11</b>	
None.....	3		
Not sure/refused.....	2		

**(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F9.)**

F10. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Yes, fundamentalist/evangelical.....	17	[362]
No, neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	32	
Not sure.....	5	
Non-Protestants (Q.F9).....	46	

F11. Are you a member of a labor union? **(IF "NO," ASK:)** Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	12	[363]
Labor union household.....	6	
Nonunion household.....	80	
Not sure.....	2	

F12. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

**(IF NO:)** What is your race—white, black, Asian, or something else?

Hispanic.....	6	[364]
White.....	78	
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F13. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, between \$75,000 and \$100,000, or would the total be more than that?



Less than \$10,000.....	5	[365]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	9	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	13	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	13	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	12	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	16	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	9	
More than \$100,000.....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	15	

F14. Finally, how would you describe your economic circumstances -- poor or below the poverty line, working class, middle class, upper middle class, or well-to-do?

Poor/below poverty line.....	6	[366]
Working class.....	30	
Middle class.....	43	
Upper middle class.....	16	
Well-to-do.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	3	